1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

boys. The unmarried men, boys, and married men whose wives are pregnant or nursing infants, as well as a few other men, have slept in the men's house on the beach. Lovers will have slept in the bush, or in the woman's house if the husband is absent.

The men and boys stroll along the beach, where off one end behind a coral formation is the men's latrine, secluded by bushes and trees. The tide washing in makes the latrine a sanitary one. The men continue their leisurely stroll along the beach, sometimes stopping to sit down and gaze at the sea for awhile. The whole day is before them and there is no need for haste.

In the meantime the women and girls have defaecated in the bush, somewhere back of the house, which they now sweep with a broom made of the dried midribs of coconut leaves tied together at one end. The wife throws some taro scrapings and the ends of taro left from the previous day to the pigs. By the time the man has returned from the beach the woman has finished tidying the house. Each now eats a taro baked the day before. This is not a regular meal, and they frequently eat while standing up or sauntering about.

After this (it is now about 7.30) the women load baskets on their backs and go to the gardens, which are about an hour's walk through the bush. Here they plant the taro, pull out weeds, and fill the baskets with taro ready to be eaten. The men may go to the gardens also, to build a new fence, or repair an old one, to clear ground for a new garden, or perhaps to get firewood. Or they may stay at home to look after the baby. Sometimes they fish, build a new house, or repair an old one. Men too old to work sit on the beach, or in the compound in front of the house, or occasionally take a short stroll. A feeble old woman stays in the house. One not so feeble, but too old for active work, takes care of a grandchild, real or classificatory. The occu-

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

Sola, should die, then a younger man will talk as I do. Suppose someone should ask who taught him. He will answer that Sola has taught him. I have finished speaking." Each of the eight boys being circumcised walks over in turn to where Sola sits and puts some tobacco and *tsera* at his feet.

Then Lowni, owner of the *Kolebmur malanggan* being displayed, and who has sold it to Orlok, stands up and repeats in regard to his *malanggan* what Sola has just said. The eight boys now put tobacco and *tsera* at Lowni's feet.

Towni, owner of another *Walik malanggan*, being displayed, talks: "Before, when I was a little boy, I worked on a plantation and I did not know this *malanggan*. Then I learned about it from my *Tata* (maternal uncle). Now I have made it and give it to Pungoli, my *tsiringi* (maternal nephew)." The latter is one of the eight boys, and now gives *tsera* and tobacco to Towni.

Then the men contributing the pigs make the payments for them publicly, holding the *tsera* up in full view and announcing to whom and for what are they paying it, and then Sola makes a speech over the two pigs resting on top of the *malanggans*. He says: "All of you look at these two pigs. They have been sleeping on this bed on top of the *malanggans*, and therefore they are taboo. We will eat them here in the enclosure and finish eating them here. These other two pigs on the ground, we will eat half here and the remaining half will be taken out to the women. But these two pigs which have been on top of the *malanggan*, they must not be taken out to the women. I have finished talking." The *malanggans* are taboo to the women, who may not look at them. The pigs, evidently from their proximity to the *malanggans*, have also become taboo to the women.

Towni stands on top of the two taboo pigs and cuts them up. Two men act as waiters and distribute plates of leaves to all those present. The same ten men now advance as a unit, pick up taro, stand in front of the plates with it, and

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

when Sola gives a hiss as a signal, place it on the plates. The men return to the big pile of taro, pick up some more, advance in a body to the plates, and wait for the signal which is given this time by Towni. He says, "*Arurini la pulla*" ("put them down"). And this is repeated each time a portion of the food is put on the plates. When the food has been distributed, each plate contains about ten baked taro, fifteen bananas, and a couple of large pieces of pig, about 5 lb. perhaps. This portion is for three men, all of whom sit around one plate. As soon as all the food is distributed, Sola and Takou walk the length of the enclosure and back again, each one holding a small bone (rib of the pig). They are silent, and so too is everyone else. With a rather dramatic gesture they throw the bones away. This is the signal for everyone to begin eating. After they have eaten for a little while, Sola advances, bird's beak in his mouth and rattle in his hand, and dances up and down the centre of the enclosure. All the men cry in chorus, "Walik Ah!" The only explanation is that it is one of the customs peculiar to the *Walik malanggan.*

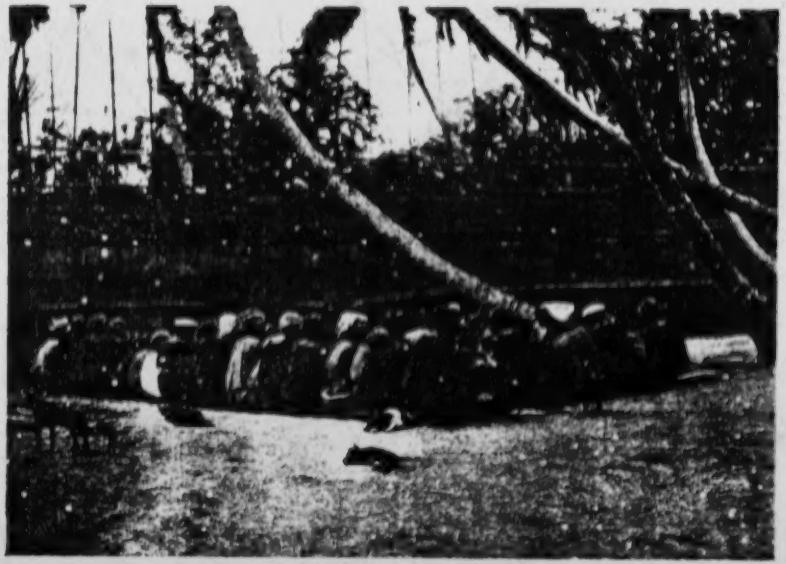
The pig lying on the ground is now cut up, and Sola talks over it: "This pig has been cut, now distribute it; half will go to the women outside." The pig is then distributed on the plates. Finally the men finish eating, and then they wash their hands in the sea, put the remains of the food in the basket, which they take out to the women. Some of the taboo pig was not eaten, but it remains inside the enclosure.

The initial rites held for the boys coming out of the enclosure, and for the first showing of the *malanggan*, are finished for the present, and will be continued about six weeks later, when the completed painted *malanggans* are displayed. During this interval all the men of Lesu rehearse their dances every evening just before sunset. Those men who are not in the dance watch the others, but no woman

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

264

"TABLE" MANNERS AT A MEN'S FEAST



A SPECIAL WOMEN'S FEAST

[facing p. 305]

5: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1932 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

At appearance of first tooth	ɑnːng asːl nuji (eating for tooth)
After ritual washing of a girl at her first menstruation	tsː tsːl (name of leaf used in washing)
Marriage	mɑrːl (name of playful fighting occurring between women of opposite moieties at this time)
Circumcision	Lual ːnɣ tsː sauk ɣ (feast for cutting penis)
Recovery from illness	Bis Bambull ɣ (make taro die[4])
Going away a long distance	ɑnːng atɣbasiɣɑp (eat and go)
Feast at death	Kosːrɣ lual (Make feast)
Feast some time after death has occurred	Kosːrɣ lual mau tungän (free translation: make feast for dead; literally, implies feast is held on ground where men are buried)
Malanggon[5] rites	Kosːrɣ lual (make feast)
To make arrangements for future malanggon rites	äginlːnːt bul (mark pig)
To end quarrel	ːlːmbii (finish)
Before war[6]	Lual tanta bul mɑrːl (feast to bring fight)
To make peace between warring villages	ːlːmbii (finish)
Feast given for possible mates of female infants	ɑnːng tsːng tsːl (eating play)
When there is abundance of food	ɤnɣnːn aLɤt (food much)
To repay women who helped an ill woman	ɑnːng oba (eating, communal work)
To repay workers on a house or garden fence	ɑnːng oba (eating, communal work)
At completion of my house[6a]	ɤsːali anuɣ (open house)

During the ten months of my visit I attended eighty-five feasts, a large majority of which took place in the village of Lesu. The others occurred in neighboring villages, but were also attended by Lesu people.[7]

The eighty-five feasts fall into the following classes:

Feasts at death 9

[4] The tops of this taro are thrown away and not replanted as is usually the case.

[5] Malanggon is the name of an elaborate carving displayed at certain mortuary rites.

[6] Warfare has been abolished by the mandated government and the feasts connected with it are therefore no longer held. The feast before war and the one to make peace between warring villages are the only ones on the list which were not held during my visit.

[6a] This feast was called by a different name from the one ordinarily used to repay the workers on a native house, and is really an introduced element in the culture.

[7] Not included in this number is the communal eating on the part of the men every day for several weeks after a death. These might well be considered ritual feasts, but I have included only those which mark a very specific occasion, such as those in the foregoing list.

5: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1932 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

264 574 In the cemetery the food is eaten with traditional etiquette. The men sit on the ground around the sides of the cemetery. At one end is the pile of food and near it the host or hosts. The bundles of food are opened by the host usually, and then it is customary for him to make a speech, explaining the reason for the feast and mentioning those who have contributed food to it. Several young men act as "waiters" and place a banana leaf on the ground in front of each man, or sometimes one leaf for every two or three men. Then the waiters evenly distribute the food on these leaves, each one getting exactly the same number of taro, bananas, etc. A "waiter" takes as many taro as he can hold and puts about three on each leaf and then he takes another lot and distributes them, until they are evenly divided. At a highly ritual feast, which I attended, for the display of malanggons during circumcision rites, ten men acted as waiters, advancing in a line to the pile of food, picking it up in unison, walking to the leaf plates, and then after waiting for a signal from one of the hosts, put the food down at exactly the same moment. The signal was: "Arurini la pɤllγ" (Put it on ground).

No one ever begins to eat until all the food has been apportioned. At the feast just mentioned a second signal was given for this. The two hosts walked silently the length of the enclosure in which the feast was being held, each holding a small pig's bone. The guests were silent. Then the hosts threw the bones away and the eating started. At less important and less formal feasts this signal is frequently omitted, but even then no one ever eats before the "waiters" have finished their work of distribution. Then the guests eat, but not the host. It would be considered very bad form for a host to eat at his own feast.

Trade after the Feast

437 574 When the men have finished eating, business affairs of varying nature are conducted. If pigs have been eaten at the feast, payment is now made for them. A string of 'serγ (shell currency) is held up by the man giving the feast and he says to whom he is paying it and what for. Then the 'serγ is handed over to the seller of the pig. Should the occasion be a very big feast at which many pigs were consumed, this payment will usually be made outside the cemetery, where the 'serγ can be given to the women owners of the pigs as well as to the men.

Any other payments due are made at this time. Should a man have purchased a dog, he now makes the payment to the former owner. Preparations are also made for future trading arrangements. One feast was held particularly to arrange for the purchase of pigs to be used at malanggon rites ten months later. The people who would sell their pigs for these com-

5: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1932 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

At other times the exchange may be effected at the same feast. In the same way, men of Libba will eat at a feast at Lesu, and later the Lesu men will eat at a Libba feast. A feast thus provides the occasion when both individuals and groups pay off their obligations.

Feminine Speeches about Husbands

At the ritual feasts of circumcision, birth, and marriage, another custom is given an opportunity for expression. At these feasts it is customary for the women to make speeches about their husbands, as good or bad food-providers. The food is arranged in two piles, one contributed by the Eagle moiety, and the other by the Hawk. The Eagle women come on the scene together, each brandishing a masculine implement of work—a fishing net, a spade, etc. They circle around the pile of food contributed by the Hawk moiety, each woman in turn holding up a tool and making a speech about her husband. If she carries a net, she talks about his industry in fishing and how he very often brings her fish. Or she may say the opposite,—how lazy he is. Each woman makes her speech, and the "audience," male and female, listens to it with quiet appreciation. There are grins and chuckles during a speech about a lazy man, while he hangs his head in shame. When the women of one moiety have finished, the other women enter and go through the same procedure. The speeches show very clearly how much the man's prestige in his family depends upon his ability as a provider of food. These ritual feasts give the women the opportunity of publicly praising or blaming their husbands and they never let it pass by.

Daily Meals

Feasts are of course not the only time when natives eat. When they get up at sunrise, they will eat a cold baked taro left over from the day before. But this is not a meal. The man will often munch his taro as he strolls about the beach, while the woman will eat her's casually as she tidies the house or collects her implements, baskets, etc. to go to the garden. In the middle of the afternoon, when they have returned from the gardens, if hungry, another cold baked taro will be eaten casually. But after the sun has set there is the family meal. The food for this is sometimes prepared by the wife, or wife and daughter together, and at other times the women of the hamlet may cook communally. The baked food is later taken to each individual household. There, in the open compound in front of the house, each family gathers around the fire and partakes of the common meal. Certainly this meal emphasizes the unity of the family and tends to foster those sentiments which hold the family together—just as the feasts keep alive the sentiments binding larger groups.

5: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1932 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

Other Customs centering about Food

There are various interesting customs which center around food apart from feasts or family meals. These may just be mentioned here as showing the important sociological rôle of food. Betrothal is consummated by the girl preparing some food for the man and their sitting down with the basket of food between them and eating together. In many folk-tales, when we are told that a man and a woman, or a man and two women, sit down and eat together, this expresses the fact that they are married. A woman never eats with her lover.

The remains of food are connected with black magic, and so one is careful never to leave any left-overs about.

Even the ghosts are concerned with food. After a successful fishing expedition a half taro and a small piece of fish is left on the liga for the ghosts of dead clan ancestors whose aid has been asked in fishing magic.

The prohibition of certain foods on particular occasions is the essential part of several taboos. The most important of these is the taboo against eating taro for certain relatives of a dead person over a prescribed period of mourning. During pregnancy a woman may not eat a certain fish. This is one with many bones, and it is thought that they would hurt the embryo child. A pregnant woman will be given a half of a baked taro by a woman who has had children. The latter eats the other half, and this act is believed to insure a successful delivery of the infant.

Food is the most frequent form of gift between husband and wife, between mother's brother and his nephew or niece, between brother and sister, and between friends. It is also an invariable mark of hospitality to offer food to a stranger.

Social Function

From the preceding description it is obvious that feasts in this society have other functions beside the satisfaction of physical hunger. Sometimes there is more than one feast in a day and the men then eat as a duty rather than because they are hungry. One day there were three feasts in near-by hamlets, and all attended by the same men. Two were connected with death rites, and one was to mark the occasion of an infant's cutting his first tooth. By the time the third feast was reached, the men were not hungry, but all ate.

Even the family meal, which has the very definite physiological function of satisfying hunger, has also the sociological rôle of uniting the various members. In a similar way the sentiments binding the society together are given collective expression at the feasts, although the very strong line of sex

5: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1932 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

demarcation is observed. The general rule for feasts is that the women cook and the men eat.[14] Now if a communal activity strengthens the cohesion of a group, the division of society into two groups on one occasion emphasizes the solidarity of each group. But since each of the two groups are partaking in the same rite, there is no real loosening of the sentiments which bind the whole society but rather a further integration of it. The same rites thus have a contradictory function, in that at them the society is united and at the same time divided on lines of sex.

SUMMARY

Feasts provide the occasions when the sentiments on which a society depends for its maintenance are given expression. The objects about which these systems of sentiments center are in New Ireland, as we have seen:

1. Important crises in the life history of the individual, such as pregnancy, birth, marriage, death, etc.
2. Trade—payments made for pigs and other things that have been sold.
3. Exchange of gifts between individuals and groups, wherein the important principle of reciprocity functions.
4. The privilege of women to make speeches about their husband's industry.
5. Maintenance of the individual's prestige.

About all of these—trade, gift exchange, reciprocity between moieties, crises in an individual's life, economic relationship between a man and his wife, prestige—systems of emotional tendencies are organized, and it is necessary according to the theory described in the beginning of the paper, for these systems to be maintained, strengthened, and transmitted from one generation to another. Feasts are a form of ritual which thus have the social function of impressing upon the individual the sentiments of his society.

INSTITUTE OF HUMAN RELATIONS
YALE UNIVERSITY
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

[14] At seventy-five of the eighty-five feasts I attended, only the men ate.